

1 BILL NO. R-

R-81-12-10

2 RESOLUTION NO. R-

100-81

3 A RESOLUTION calling for a mutual halt  
4 to the nuclear arms race by the United  
States and the Soviet Union.

5 WHEREAS, nuclear war, even a "limited" one, would result  
6 in death, injury, and disease on a scale that has no  
7 precedent in human history; and,

8 WHEREAS, medical "disaster planning" for nuclear war  
9 is meaningless as most hospitals would be destroyed, most  
10 medical personnel dead or injured, most medical supplies  
11 unavailable, and most "survivors" likely to die; and,

12 WHEREAS, there is no effective civil defense against  
13 nuclear war since the blast, thermal and radiation effects  
14 would kill even those in shelters and fallout would reach  
15 even those who had been evacuated; and,

16 WHEREAS, recovery from a nuclear war would be impossible  
17 since the economic, ecologic and social fabric on which  
18 human life rests would be destroyed in the USA, the  
19 USSR and much of the rest of the world; and,

20 WHEREAS, there can be no winners in a nuclear war  
21 as world-wide fallout would contaminate much of the globe  
22 for generations and atmospheric effects would severely  
23 damage all living things.

24 NOW BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED by the Common Council of the  
25 City of Fort Wayne:

26 Section 1. That we join with the National Council  
27 of Churches, Church Women United, the American Friends  
28 Service Committee, the Physicians for Social Responsibility,  
29 American Catholic Bishop<sup>s</sup>, United Methodist Church, United  
30 Presbyterian Church, United Church of Christ, Church of  
31 the Bretheren, Disciples of Christ, City of Oxford, Ohio,  
32 and other church, civic and governmental bodies and ~~other~~

concerned National, State and local groups to concur  
with the Call to Halt ~~the~~ the Nuclear Arms Race, as follows:

"To improve National and International security,  
the United States of America and the USSR should  
stop the nuclear arms race. Specifically, both  
nations should adopt a mutual freeze on the testing,  
production and deployment of nuclear weapons, and  
of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily  
to deliver nuclear weapons. This is an essential,  
verifiable first step toward lessening the risk  
of nuclear war and reducing the nuclear arsenal."

Section 2. That this resolution and the record of  
its approval by the Common Council of the City of Fort Wayne  
be forwarded to the President of the United States, Ronald  
Reagan, and to the Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, and  
to United States Senator, Richard G. Lugar, and United  
States Senator, Dan Quayle and 4th Indiana District  
Representative, Dan Coates.

*Vivian A. Schmidt*  
COUNCILMAN

\_\_\_\_\_  
MAYOR OF THE CITY OF  
FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

Approved as to form and legality

*John H. Logan*  
JOHN H. LOGAN, Attorney for the  
Common Council of the City  
of Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Read the first time in full and on motion by J. Schmitt, seconded by Stier, and duly adopted, read the second time by title and referred to the Committee Finance (and the City Plan Commission for recommendation) and Public Hearing to be held after due legal notice, at the Council Chambers, City-County Building, Fort Wayne, Indiana, on 12-8-81, the 12-8-81 day of December, 1981, at        o'clock        M., E.S.T.

DATE: 12-8-81

Charles W. Westerman  
CHARLES W. WESTERMAN  
CITY CLERK

Read the third time in full and on motion by Stier, seconded by Stier, and duly adopted, placed on its passage. PASSED (~~LOST~~) by the following vote:

	<u>AYES</u>	<u>NAYS</u>	<u>ABSTAINED</u>	<u>ABSENT</u>	<u>TO-WIT:</u>
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>		
<u>BURNS</u>			<u>X</u>		
<u>EISBART</u>	<u>X</u>				
<u>GIAQUINTA</u>	<u>X</u>				
<u>NUCKOLS</u>	<u>X</u>				
<u>SCHMIDT, D.</u>			<u>X</u>		
<u>SCHMIDT, V.</u>	<u>X</u>				
<u>SCHOMBURG</u>		<u>X</u>			
<u>STIER</u>	<u>X</u>				
<u>TALARICO</u>	<u>X</u>				

DATE: 12-22-81

Charles W. Westerman  
CHARLES W. WESTERMAN - CITY CLERK

Passed and adopted by the Common Council of the City of Fort Wayne, Indiana, as (ZONING MAP) (~~GENERAL~~) (~~ANNEXATION~~) (~~SPECIAL~~) (~~APPROPRIATION~~) ORDINANCE (RESOLUTION) No. B-100-81 on the 22nd day of December, 1981.

ATTEST:

(SEAL)

Charles W. Westerman  
CHARLES W. WESTERMAN - CITY CLERK

John Nuckols  
PRESIDING OFFICER

Presented by me to the Mayor of the City of Fort Wayne, Indiana, on the 23rd day of December, 1981, at the hour of 10:15 o'clock P. M., E.S.T.

Charles W. Westerman  
CHARLES W. WESTERMAN - CITY CLERK

Approved and signed by me this 28th day of Dec. 1981, at the hour of 3 o'clock P. M., E.S.T.

Winfield C. Moses, Jr.  
WINFIELD C. MOSES, JR.  
MAYOR

BILL NO. R-81-12-10

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

WE, YOUR COMMITTEE ON Finance TO WHOM WAS REFERRED AN  
ORDINANCE RESOLUTION calling for a mutual halt to the nuclear arms race  
by the United States and the Soviet Union

HAVE HAD SAID ORDINANCE UNDER CONSIDERATION AND BEG LEAVE TO REPORT  
BACK TO THE COMMON COUNCIL THAT SAID ORDINANCE No PASS.

VIVIAN G. SCHMIDT, CHAIRMAN

Vivian G. Schmidt

JAMES S. STIER, VICE CHAIRMAN

James S. Stier

MARK E. GIAQUINTA

Mark E. Giaquinta

PAUL M. BURNS

ROY J. SCHOMBURG

12-22-81  
CONCURRED IN  
DATE \_\_\_\_\_ CHARLES W. WESTERMAN, CITY CLERK

# THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

## 1981: OVERKILL

The US and the USSR have 50,000 nuclear weapons. Every town in the US with more than 25,000 people already has at least one nuclear warhead aimed at it.

## 1982: End of SALT

Cruise missiles and vertical silos make arms control verification impossible.

## 198?: ATTACK

Each 20-megaton bomb creates a 1½-mile crater surrounded by a 2800-acre firestorm.

*"Global war has become a  
Frankenstein to destroy both sides  
... No longer does it possess even the  
chance of the winner of a duel. It  
contains now only the germs of double  
suicide."*

—General Douglas MacArthur

*"The fruits of victory would be ashes in  
our mouths."*

—President John F. Kennedy

*"Is a nuclear holocaust inevitable if the  
arms race is not stopped? Frankly, the  
answer is almost certainly yes."*

—Billy Graham

# CALL TO HALT THE ARMS RACE

## "THE CALL"

To improve national and international security, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race. Specifically, they should adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This is an essential, verifiable first step toward lessening the risk of nuclear war and reducing the nuclear arsenals.

# BUT IS A FREEZE POSSIBLE?

- The bi-lateral nature of the CALL makes it politically acceptable to many.
- The CALL is broad and comprehensive, covering a number of weapons systems, yet it puts forward a limited, realizable objective.
- Verification of this arms control agreement is possible through existing means, such as the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency and satellite reconnaissance.

# WHAT CAN YOU DO?

A freeze will be achieved only when there is enough public support to compel the governments of the US and the USSR to act on it.

A major national campaign is underway to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race. The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign has already gained support among a wide array of groups and citizens. A 3-5 year strategy has been developed nationally to reach out to the American public and eventually win congressional support for a Freeze. People in many states are already actively involved in grassroots education and outreach for the Freeze.

- Distribute copies of this leaflet in your community
- Call radio and TV talk shows and express your support for the Freeze.
- Circulate a Freeze petition. We have copies to send you.
- Write letters to newspapers.
- Educate your civic group, synagogue, church or school about the arms race and the Freeze. Write us for information on films, slide shows, and literature.
- Organize an action group in your community. We can help you.
- Write to your elected officials and tell them to support the Freeze.

# NOW IS THE TIME

- New weapons systems of both countries are in planning stages, and could be stopped **before** production.
- People in Japan, Australia, Europe, US, and the USSR are organizing and endorsing the CALL.
- Members of the US Congress support the CALL.
- State and local governments in Oregon, Massachusetts, New York, and Vermont passed Freeze resolutions.

The Ohio Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign makes Ohio a crucial part of the movement to halt the arms race.

- A joint resolution (SJR 33) Introduced in the Ohio State Senate urges the US government to consider the CALL.
- A petition urging the Ohio General Assembly to vote for SJR 33 is being circulated.

*"I consider a bilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons deployment to be the single most crucial issue facing humanity today."*

—Senator Mark Hatfield  
(R-Oregon)

## A Freeze will . . .

- ...stop development of first-strike weapons
- ...increase national security by decreasing risk of nuclear war
- ...help stop proliferation of nuclear weapons
- ...strengthen the economy of the US

US House of Reps.  
Wash., DC 20515

US Senate  
Wash., DC 20510

White House  
1600 Pennsylvania  
Wash., DC 20006

State Capitol  
Columbus, OH  
43215

Embassy of the USSR  
1125 16th St. NW  
Washington, DC 20036

Ohio Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign  
3800 Bridge Ave., Cleveland, OH 44113  
(216) 281-2600 or (216) 247-5856

Local contact:

- ☐ Here's \$10 for membership in the Reverse the Arms Race Federation of Ohio
- ☐ Send me petitions
- ☐ I'll help start a local group
- ☐ Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of this brochure (10¢ ea., plus postage)
- ☐ Here's \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to support your work

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

# FREEZE THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE



*"War has become not just tragic, but preposterous. There can be no victory with modern weapons for anyone."*

—President Dwight Eisenhower

*"If we continue on the course we are headed, the next war will be a nuclear war and very likely the last one humans will ever fight."*

—Rear Admiral Gene LaRocque



OHIO NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS FREEZE



# Statement on the Nuclear-Weapon Freeze Proposal

## Scope of the Freeze

- (1) Underground nuclear tests should be suspended, pending final agreement on a comprehensive test ban treaty.
- (2) There should be a freeze on testing, production and deployment of all missiles and new aircraft which have nuclear weapons as their sole or main payload. This includes:

### US Delivery Vehicles

*In Production:*  
Improved Minuteman ICBM  
Trident 1 SLBM  
Air-launched cruise missile (ALCM)

*In Development:*  
MX ICBM  
Trident II SLBM  
Long-range ground- and sea-launched cruise missiles (GLCM, SLCM)  
Pershing II IRBM  
New bomber

### Soviet Delivery Vehicles

*In Production:*  
SS-19 ICBM  
SS-N-18 SLBM  
SS-20 IRBM  
Backfire bomber

*In Development:*  
SS-17, SS-18, SS-19  
ICBM improvements  
New ICBM  
New SLBM (SS-N-20)

- (3) The number of land- and submarine-based launch tubes for nuclear missiles should be frozen. Replacement subs could be built to keep the force constant, but with no net increase in SLBM tubes and no new missiles.
- (4) No further MIRVing or other changes to existing missiles or bomber loads would be permitted.

All of the above measures can be verified by existing national means of verification with high confidence.

The following measures cannot be verified nationally with the same confidence, but an effort should be made to include them:

- (5) Production of fissionable material (enriched uranium and plutonium) for weapon purposes should be halted.
- (6) Production of nuclear weapons (bombs) should be halted.

There are two arguments for attempting to include these somewhat less verifiable steps. First, with a halt to additional and new delivery vehicles, there will be no need for additional bombs. Thus, production of weapon-grade fissionable material and bombs would probably stop in any event. Second, the establishment of a *universal* ban on production of weapon-grade fissionable material and nuclear bombs, verified by international inspection as established now for non-nuclear-weapon states under the Nonproliferation Treaty and the International Atomic Energy Agency, would greatly strengthen that Treaty and improve the prospects for halting the spread of nuclear weapons.

## The Agreement to Freeze

The US and Soviet governments should announce a moratorium on all further testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery vehicles, to be verified by national means. The freeze would be followed by negotiations to incorporate the moratorium in a treaty. The negotiations would cover supplementary verification measures, such as IAEA inspections; and possible desirable exceptions from the freeze, such as an occasional confidence test.

This procedure follows the precedent of the 1958-61 nuclear-weapon test moratorium, in which testing was suspended while the USA, USSR and UK negotiated a partial test ban treaty.

## Relation to SALT Negotiations

The bilateral freeze is aimed at being introduced in the early 1980s, as soon as sufficient popular and political support is developed to move the governments toward its adoption.

The freeze would prevent dangerous developments in the absence of a SALT treaty. It would preclude exploitation of loopholes in past treaties and, at the same time, satisfy critics who are concerned that the SALT process may not succeed in stopping the arms race.

The freeze does not replace the SALT negotiating process, but should supplement and strengthen it. The freeze could be adopted as a replacement for SALT II or as an immediate follow-on, with the task of putting the moratorium into treaty language the job of SALT III.

## The Case for a Nuclear-Weapon Freeze

There are many reasons to support a halt to the nuclear arms race at this time:

**Parity**—There is widespread agreement that parity exists between US and Soviet nuclear forces at present.

**Avoiding "Nuclear Warfighting" Developments**—The next generation US and Soviet nuclear weapons improve "nuclear warfighting" capabilities—that is, they improve the ability to knock out the enemy's forces in what is termed a "limited" nuclear exchange. Having such capabilities will undermine the sense of parity, spur further weapon developments and increase the likelihood of nuclear war in a crisis, especially if conflict with conventional weapons has started. It is of overriding importance to stop these developments.

**Stopping the MX and New Soviet ICBMs**—Specifically, a freeze would prevent the deployment of new and improved Soviet ICBMs, which are expected to render US ICBMs vulnerable to preemptive attack. This would obviate the need for the costly and environmentally-destructive US mobile MX ICBM, with its counterforce capability against Soviet ICBMs. That, in turn, would avoid the pressure for the USSR to deploy its own mobile ICBMs in the 1990s.

**Stopping the Cruise Missile**—The new US cruise missile, just entering production in an air-launched version and still in development in ground- and sea-launched versions, threatens to make negotiated, nationally-verified nuclear arms control far more difficult. Modern, low-flying, terrain-guided cruise missiles are relatively small and cheap and can be deployed in large numbers on virtually any launching platform: not only bombers, but also tactical aircraft, surface ships, tactical submarines, and various ground vehicles. They are easy to conceal and, unlike ICBMs, their numbers cannot be observed from satellites. If the United States continues the development and production of cruise missiles, the USSR will be likely to follow suit in 5-10 years; and quantitative limits on the two sides will be impossible to verify. A freeze would preclude this development.

**Preserving European Security**—A freeze would also prevent a worsening of the nuclear balance in Europe. To

# CALL TO HALT THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

## Proposal for a Mutual US-Soviet Nuclear-Weapon Freeze

To improve national and international security, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race. Specifically, they should adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This is an essential, verifiable first step toward lessening the risk of nuclear war and reducing the nuclear arsenals.

The horror of a nuclear holocaust is universally acknowledged. Today, the United States and the Soviet Union possess 50,000 nuclear weapons. In half an hour, a fraction of these weapons can destroy all cities in the northern hemisphere. Yet over the next decade, the USA and USSR plan to build over 20,000 more nuclear warheads, along with a new generation of nuclear missiles and aircraft.

The weapon programs of the next decade, if not stopped, will pull the nuclear tripwire tighter. Counterforce and other "nuclear warfighting" systems will improve the ability of the USA and USSR to attack the opponent's nuclear forces and other military targets. This will increase the pressure on both sides to use their nuclear weapons in a crisis, rather than risk losing them in a first strike.

Such developments will increase hairtrigger readiness for a massive nuclear exchange at a time when economic difficulties, political dissension, revolution and competition for energy supplies may be rising worldwide. At the same time, more countries may acquire nuclear weapons. Unless we change this combination of trends, the danger of nuclear war will be greater in the late 1980s and 1990s than ever before.

Rather than permit this dangerous future to evolve, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race.

A freeze on nuclear missiles and aircraft can be verified by existing national means. A total freeze can be verified more easily than the complex SALT I and II agreements. The freeze on warhead production could be verified by the Safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Stopping the production of nuclear weapons and weapon-grade material and applying the Safeguards to US and Soviet nuclear programs would increase the incentive of other countries to adhere to the Nonproliferation Treaty, renouncing acquisition of their own nuclear weapons, and to accept the same Safeguards.

A freeze would hold constant the existing nuclear parity between the United States and the Soviet Union. By precluding production of counterforce weaponry on either side, it would eliminate excuses for further arming on both sides. Later, following the immediate adoption of the freeze, its terms should be negotiated into the more durable form of a treaty.

A nuclear-weapon freeze, accompanied by government-aided conversion of nuclear industries, would save at least \$100 billion each in US and Soviet military spending (at today's prices) in 1981-1990. This would reduce inflation. The savings could be applied to balance the budget, reduce taxes, improve services, subsidize renewable energy, or increase aid to poverty-stricken third world regions. By shifting personnel to more labor-intensive civilian jobs, a nuclear-weapon freeze would also raise employment.

Stopping the US-Soviet nuclear arms race is the single most useful step that can be taken now to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war and to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to more countries. This step is a necessary prelude to creating international conditions in which:

- further steps can be taken toward a stable, peaceful international order;
- the threat of first use of nuclear weaponry can be ended;
- the freeze can be extended to other nations; and
- the nuclear arsenals on all sides can be drastically reduced or eliminated, making the world truly safe from nuclear destruction.



# Endorsers of a Bilateral Nuclear-Weapon Freeze (partial list)

American Friends Service Committee  
 Leonard Barnett, co-Founder  
*Institute for Policy Studies\**  
 Leonard Barnett, Administration  
*Integration of the Holy Cross\**  
 Kenneth Boulding, President  
*American Economic Association\**  
 Perry Brazelton, M.D.  
 American  
 Cambridge Democratic City Council  
 Catholic, Episcopal, Jewish and Presbyterian  
 Fellowship  
 Rep. Shirley Chisholm, NY  
 Church Women United  
 George and Lily Concerned  
 Harvey Cox, Theology  
*Harvard University\**  
 Sr Vivian M Coulon, Cong. Superior  
*Marianites of the Holy Cross*  
 Rep. Ron Dellums, CA  
 Disarmament Working Group, Coalition for a  
 New Foreign & Military Policy  
 Freeman Dyson, Physicist  
*Institute for Advanced Studies\**  
 Richard Falk, International Law  
*Princeton University\**  
 Bernard Feld, Editor-in-Chief  
*Bulletin of Atomic Scientists\**  
 Fellowship of Reconciliation  
 Seymour Maxwell Finger  
 Former Ambassador to the UN  
 John Ford, Mayor  
 Tuskegee, Alabama  
 Randall Forsberg, Director  
*Inst. for Defense & Disarm Studies\**

Rabbi Daniel Freeland  
*Union of American Hebrew Congregations\**  
 John Kenneth Galbraith, Economist  
 Dan Gaby, President  
*Keyes-Martin & Co\**  
 Jerome Grossman, Director  
*Council for a Livable World\**  
 C. Willard Heckel, former Dean  
*Rugers Law School\**  
 Adam Hochschild, Publisher  
 Wilbur Hogg  
 Episcopal Bishop of Albany  
 Holy Cross Interprovince Justice & Peace  
 Commission  
 H. George Jacobs, Founder and President  
*American Polymers\**  
 Robert Johansen, President  
*Institute for World Order\**  
 Alan Kay, Businessman  
 George Kistiakowsky  
 Former Science Advisor to President  
 Executive Committee, Leadership Conference  
 of Women Religious  
 Joel Lebowitz, former President  
*NY Academy of Sciences\**  
 Carl Marcy, former Staff Director  
*Senate Foreign Relations Committee\**  
 Peter Matthiessen, Author *Snow Leopard*  
 1975 National Book Award  
 Mobilization for Survival  
 Rep. Toby Moffett, CT  
 Philip Morrison, Book Review Editor  
*Scientific American\**  
 Michael Myerson, Director  
*US Peace Council\**  
 National Council of Churches

Rep. Richard Ottinger, NY  
 Pax Christi  
 Eugene Pickett, President  
*Unitarian Universalists Association\**  
 George Raijens, Arms expert  
*Mass Institute of Technology\**  
 Rep. Frederick Richmond, NY  
 Riverside Church Disarm Program  
 Rep. Charles Kangel, NY  
 Rep. Peter Rodino, NJ  
 Sane  
 Harris Schrank, Vice-President  
*Equitable Life Assurance Society\**  
 Victor Sidel, M.D.  
*Physicians for Social Responsibility\**  
 Sisters of Loreto  
 Sojourners  
 Office for Church in Society,  
 United Church of Christ  
 Rep. Harold Washington, IL  
 Rep. James Weaver, OR  
 Rep. Ted Weiss, NY  
 Robert White, Sec for Social Witness  
*Reformed Church in America\**  
 William Wickersham, Director  
*World Federalists Association\**  
 Herman Will  
*United Methodist Church\**  
 William Wimpinger, President  
*Internat'l Assoc. of Machinists\**  
 Rabbi Arnold Wolf  
*A.A.M. Isaiah Israel Congregation\**  
 Women's International League for Peace  
 and Freedom  
 World Peacemakers

\* organizations for identification only

## Action Suggestions

1. Endorse the Call by checking the box below and sending in the coupon. Make copies of the Call and send them to three friends.
2. Identify three leaders in your community. Send them the Call and follow up by telephone or in person. Send names of prominent endorsers you secure to the address below.
3. Get the organizations to which you belong to endorse the Call and send a letter stating support to the address below.
4. Use a petition-format of the Call for a bilateral freeze for house-to-house and large-meeting canvassing and to gather names and funds for local newspaper ads calling for a bilateral nuclear-weapon freeze.
5. Initiate city or town government resolutions, state government resolutions or statewide election referendum questions in support of the freeze.
6. Create a citizens' group to take petitions, resolutions and other expressions of support for a freeze to discuss with your Representative, Senators and Governor. Learn their opinions and work for their support and endorsement of the freeze.

Mail this coupon and contributions to support this effort to the contact listed below. If none is listed, mail to:  
 Nuclear-Weapon Freeze, 251 Harvard Street, Brookline MA 02146.

In order to develop a comprehensive national list of endorsing groups and individuals, all groups listed as contacts in space below should send their name and address to Nuclear-Weapon Freeze at above address.

**CONTACT:** AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE **American Friends Service Committee**  
 Humanity House 475 W. Market 9501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102  
 Phone 253-7151 Akron, Oh 44303 (215) 241-7177

- ☐ Yes, I endorse the Call for a US-Soviet Nuclear-Weapon Freeze.  
☐ I also support the United States taking one or more of the independent initiatives to start movement toward a Freeze.  
☐ You may use my name in printing and publicizing the Freeze and/or the initiatives, as indicated above.

Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ additional copies of the Call. Cost: 10¢ each.

(Note: Bulk orders, 50 or more, should be addressed to AFSC, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102. 7¢ each plus postage.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Congressperson or District \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City, State, Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Organization and Title, if any \_\_\_\_\_

(Unless you indicate otherwise, organizations will be listed for identification purposes only.)

dated, the USSR has replaced less than half of its medium-range nuclear missiles and bombers with the new SS-20 missile and Backfire bomber. The United States is planning to add hundreds of Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles to the forward-based nuclear systems in Europe, capable of reaching the USSR. Negotiations conducted after additional Soviet medium-range weapons are deployed are likely to leave Europe with more nuclear arms on both sides and with less security than it has today. It is important to freeze before the Soviet weapons grow to large numbers, increasing pressure for a US response and committing both sides to permanently higher nuclear force levels.

**Stopping the Spread of Nuclear Arms**—There is a slim chance of stopping the spread of nuclear weapons if the two superpowers stop their major nuclear arms race. The freeze would help the USA and USSR meet their legal and political obligations under the Nonproliferation Treaty. It would make the renunciation of nuclear weapons by other countries somewhat more equitable and politically feasible. In addition, US-Soviet freeze would encourage a halt in the nuclear weapon programs of other countries which are known or believed to have nuclear weapons or nuclear-weapon technology. These are Britain, France and China, with publicly acknowledged nuclear weapon programs, and India, Israel and South Africa, without acknowledged programs.

**Timing**—There is a unique opportunity to freeze US and Soviet nuclear arms in the early 1980s. The planned new US and Soviet ICBMs and the US Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missile are not scheduled to enter production until 1982 or later. The Soviets have offered to negotiate the further deployment of their medium-range nuclear forces and submarine-based forces. Given the pressure to respond to new weapons on both sides and the existing nuclear parity, an equally opportune time for a freeze may not recur for many years.

**Popular Appeal**—Campaigns to stop individual weapon systems are sometimes treated as unilateral disarmament or circumvented by the development of alternative systems. The pros and cons of the SALT II Treaty are too technical for the patience of the average person. In contrast, an effort to stop the development and production of all US and Soviet nuclear weapons is simple, straightforward, effective and mutual; and for all these reasons it is likely to have great popular appeal. This is essential for creating the scale of popular support that is needed to make nuclear arms control efforts successful.

**Economic Benefits**—Although nuclear forces take only a small part of US and Soviet military spending, they do cost some tens of billions of dollars annually. About half of these funds go to existing nuclear forces, while half are budgeted for the testing, production and deployment of new warheads and delivery systems. A nuclear-weapon

freeze, accompanied by government-aided conversion of nuclear industries to civilian production, would yield several important economic benefits:

- About \$100 billion each (at 1981 prices) would be saved by the United States and the Soviet Union over the period from 1981 to 1990 in unnecessary military spending.

- The savings could be applied to balance the budget; reduce taxes; improve services now being cut back; subsidize home and commercial conversion to safe, renewable energy resources; or increase economic aid to poverty-stricken third world regions, thereby defusing some of the tinderboxes of international conflict.

- With the shift of personnel to more labor-intensive civilian jobs, employment would rise. At the same time, the highly inflationary pressure of military spending would be mitigated.

## Verification

The comprehensive nature of a total freeze on nuclear weapon testing, production and deployment (and, by implication, development) would facilitate verification.

Long-range bomber and missile production would be proscribed. The letter of assurance attached to the draft SALT II Treaty that the USSR will not increase its rate of production of Backfire bombers indicates not only *deployment* but also *production* of the relatively large aircraft and missiles in question can be observed with considerable confidence. While concealed production and stockpiling of aircraft and missiles is theoretically possible, it would be extraordinarily difficult to accomplish with no telltale construction or supply. Any attempt would require the building or modification of plants and the development of new transport lines that are not operational at present. It would also involve high risks of detection and high penalties in worsening relations without offering any significant strategic advantage.

Verification of a ban on *tests* of missiles designed to carry nuclear weapons can be provided with high confidence by existing satellite and other detections systems. Here, too, a comprehensive approach is easier to verify than a partial or limited one.

Verification of aircraft, missile and submarine *deployments*, by specific quantity, is already provided under the terms of the SALT II and SALT I Treaty language. Verifying no additional deployments or major modifications will be considerably easier, in fact, than checking compliance with specific numerical ceilings in a continually changing environment.

Verification of a comprehensive nuclear *weapon test* ban, the subject of study and negotiation for many years, has been determined to be possible within the terms of the existing draft comprehensive test ban treaty.

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## Initiatives Toward the Freeze

Either the United States or the Soviet Union could initiate movement toward the freeze by taking modest, unilateral steps that would: demonstrate its good faith, start movement in the right direction, and make it easier for the other country to take a similar step.

For example, either country could:

1. Undertake a three-month moratorium on nuclear test explosions, to be extended if reciprocated.
  2. Stop further deployment, for a specified period, of one new strategic weapon or improvement of an existing weapon.
  3. Draw up and publish comprehensive conversion plans for the nuclear facilities and employment that would be affected by a freeze, as a sign of serious commitment to the goal.
-

## The Effects of Nuclear War

The effects of a nuclear war that can be anticipated but cannot be calculated are at least as important as those that analysts attempt to quantify. Moreover, there are very large uncertainties regarding the effects that are calculated. Nuclear weapons are usually described by the damage they can inflict even in the most unfavorable circumstances. In fact, the casualties and economic destruction caused by a nuclear attack would probably be far greater than most prior estimates have indicated.

In the period following a nuclear attack, conditions could get worse before they started to get better. The Nation would be far weaker—economically, socially, and politically—than a calculation of its assets would seem to indicate. People could live off prewar supplies and habits for awhile, but patterns of behavior would be changed by worsening shortages and the enormous psychological shock a nuclear war would produce. A failure to achieve economic viability (production equaling consumption) before stocks ran out would cause many additional deaths, and further economic, social, and political deterioration.

A large-scale nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union could kill more than 250 million people in those two countries alone. The numbers killed in the first few days would depend on the exact number of nuclear weapons used and places of detonation, the time of year, extent of warning, and the weather. U.S. deaths would probably range between 70 million and 160 million, while Soviet deaths would be between 50 million and 100 million. Many "survivors" would die later from starvation, exposure, or disease, particularly in areas where the immediate deaths were relatively low.

A "limited" nuclear exchange would have enormous impact as well, even if there were no escalation. An exchange limited to 10 MIRVed missiles aimed at oil refineries, for example, could kill 5 million Americans and destroy 64 percent of the U.S. refining capacity and 73 percent of the Soviet capacity. An attack directed solely at missile silos could kill as many as 20 million Americans. Despite the deaths and destruction of such attacks, their consequences might be endurable and economic recovery possible since they would be on a scale with previous wars and epidemics.

Major differences between the United States and the Soviet Union affect their relative vulnerability to nuclear attacks. People in the United States are more exposed than those in the Soviet Union because the latter are more dispersed geographically, and because U.S. weapons are generally smaller than their Soviet counterparts. Further, the Soviet political system is better able to maintain tight control in emergencies. However, the U.S. economy appears to be less vulnerable than that of the Soviet Union, both because it is bigger and better to begin with, and because Americans are more accustomed to decentralization.

Nuclear war is deterred by the certainty of its enormous effects, and by the uncertainty about just what those effects would be. Even a limited nuclear war could be expected to kill millions of people and inflict damage on a scale unprecedented in U.S. history, while a large-scale nuclear exchange would be a calamity unknown to human history. Because the economic, social, and political effects are literally incalculable, no government could predict with confidence what the consequences of even a limited nuclear attack would be.

Copies of the OTA report, "The Effects of Nuclear War," are available from the U.S. Government Printing Office. The GPO stock number is 052-003-00668-5; the price is \$4.75. Copies for congressional use are available by calling 4-8996.

# CALL TO HALT THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

## Proposal for a Mutual US-Soviet Nuclear-Weapon Freeze

To improve national and international security, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race. Specifically, they should adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This is an essential, verifiable first step toward lessening the risk of nuclear war and reducing the nuclear arsenals.

The horror of a nuclear holocaust is universally acknowledged. Today, the United States and the Soviet Union possess 50,000 nuclear weapons. In half an hour, a fraction of these weapons can destroy all cities in the northern hemisphere. Yet over the next decade, the USA and USSR plan to build over 20,000 more nuclear warheads, along with a new generation of nuclear missiles and aircraft.

The weapon programs of the next decade, if not stopped, will pull the nuclear tripwire tighter. Counterforce and other "nuclear warfighting" systems will improve the ability of the USA and USSR to attack the opponent's nuclear forces and other military targets. This will increase the pressure on both sides to use their nuclear weapons in a crisis, rather than risk losing them in a first strike.

Such developments will increase hairtrigger readiness for a massive nuclear exchange at a time when economic difficulties, political dissension, revolution and competition for energy supplies may be rising worldwide. At the same time, more countries may acquire nuclear weapons. Unless we change this combination of trends, the danger of nuclear war will be greater in the late 1980s and 1990s than ever before.

Rather than permit this dangerous future to evolve, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race.

A freeze on nuclear missiles and aircraft can be verified by existing national means. A total freeze can be verified more easily than the complex SALT I and II agreements. The freeze on warhead production could be verified by the Safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Stopping the production of nuclear weapons and weapon-grade material and applying the Safeguards to US and Soviet nuclear programs would increase the incentive of other countries to adhere to the Nonproliferation Treaty, renouncing acquisition of their own nuclear weapons, and to accept the same Safeguards.

A freeze would hold constant the existing nuclear parity between the United States and the Soviet Union. By precluding production of counterforce weaponry on either side, it would eliminate excuses for further arming on both sides. Later, following the immediate adoption of the freeze, its terms should be negotiated into the more durable form of a treaty.

A nuclear-weapon freeze, accompanied by government-aided conversion of nuclear industries, would save at least \$100 billion each in US and Soviet military spending (at today's prices) in 1981-1990. This would reduce inflation. The savings could be applied to balance the budget, reduce taxes, improve services, subsidize renewable energy, or increase aid to poverty-stricken third world regions. By shifting personnel to more labor-intensive civilian jobs, a nuclear-weapon freeze would also raise employment.

Stopping the US-Soviet nuclear arms race is the single most useful step that can be taken now to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war and to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to more countries. This step is a necessary prelude to creating international conditions in which:

- further steps can be taken toward a stable, peaceful international order;
- the threat of first use of nuclear weaponry can be ended;
- the freeze can be extended to other nations; and
- the nuclear arsenals on all sides can be drastically reduced or eliminated, making the world truly safe from nuclear destruction.

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S. J. R. No. 33

MESSRS. SCHWARZWALDER, McCORMACK, MARAKOWSKI, MAURER, BOWEN,  
ZIMMERS, OCASEK, MESHEL, MS. VALIQUETTE

JOINT RESOLUTION

To memorialize Congress and the President of the United States to adopt  
the proposals contained in the "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race."

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF OHIO:

WHEREAS, The horror of a nuclear holocaust is universally acknowledged, the United States and the Soviet Union presently possess 50,000 nuclear weapons that can destroy all cities in the northern hemisphere within half an hour; and

WHEREAS, The United States and the Soviet Union plan to build more than 20,000 additional nuclear warheads, together with a new generation of missiles to deliver them at long range; and

WHEREAS, The recent crises in the Middle East and South Asia have increased world tension, exacerbated confrontation between East and West, and enhanced the chance of war between the United States and the Soviet Union, while leaders of the United States have put aside efforts to stop the nuclear arms race, postponed ratification of SALT II, and left other arms control measures in abeyance; and

WHEREAS, The need to stop the nuclear arms race is not less in time of crisis, but greater, because as the possibility of conventional war grows, the risk of nuclear war also grows; and

WHEREAS, Threats to use nuclear weapons in conventional conflicts are being voiced more frequently, although the devastating consequences of nuclear warfare on a large scale are far too terrible to be risked over the issues of current conflicts; and

WHEREAS, The weapon programs of the next decade, if not stopped, will increase our trigger readiness for a massive nuclear exchange at a time when economic difficulties, political dissension, revolution, and competition for energy supplies may be on the rise worldwide, which may well occur during the late 1980s and the 1990s; and

WHEREAS, Rather than permit this dangerous future to evolve, the United States and the Soviet Union should adopt an immediate, mutual freeze on all further testing, reduction, and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons; and

WHEREAS, Such a freeze can be verified by existing national means, such as the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency and satellite reconnaissance; and

WHEREAS, Stopping the production of nuclear weapons and weapon-grade material and applying the Safeguards to the nuclear programs of the United States and Soviet Union would increase the incentive of other countries to adhere to the Nonproliferation Treaty, renouncing their own nuclear weapons, and to accept the same Safeguards; and

WHEREAS, A freeze also would hold constant the existing nuclear parity between the United States and the Soviet Union, would eliminate excuses for further arming on both sides by precluding production of counterforce weaponry, and could later be negotiated into the more durable form of a treaty; and

WHEREAS, It thus appears that stopping the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union is the single most useful step that can be taken now to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war and prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the 114th General Assembly of the State of Ohio hereby memorialize the Congress and the President of the United States to adopt the proposals of the "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race," which are embodied in this Resolution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Clerk of the Senate transmit duly authenticated copies of this Resolution to the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, the members of Ohio's Congressional Delegation, and to the President of the United States.